allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[28] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[29] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[30] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect.

Grodekov also states[31] that there was an order of precedence running through all three hordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda, and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[32] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest.

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come.

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

[28] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 7-8.
[29] *Idem*, 27.
[30] *Idem*, 22.
[31] *Idem*, 7-8.
[32] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

624 of the tribe" recited prayers and sacrificed a white horse which was afterwards eaten. This reference to the priestly function of the chief and the prominence of the horse in ceremonial observances will be noted later in connection with Mongol material. 1

There was no regular process or order for assuring the succession to the offices of bij and aqsaqal. An incumbent would normally hold office during life or as long as he were able to maintain his authority. Radlov has admirably summed up the status of the bij in saying[7] that authority was concentrated in individuals who were distinguished by reason of wealth, ability, sense of justice and numerous relatives, who could, if necessary, support words with deeds through their henchmen. He adds significantly: "Da das Nomadvolk keine Wahl des Häuptlings kennt, so ist die Bi-Gewalt gewöhnlich eine Machtsusurpation der betreffenden Persönlichkeit und nur selten eine allgemein unbedingt anerkannte."

Radlov's statement summarizes the views of my informants, who said that when the bij died he might perhaps be succeeded by his son, but this was not necessarily the case. It might be by any powerful man who "would appoint himself and say 'I am bij'." (Here the informant was using bij and aqsaqal interchangeably.) In any given group it appeared that the successor to office would probably be chosen from among themselves by the five or six wealthiest and most influential members of the aul, who would normally be relatives of one another and heads of the principal family lines of the uru predominating in the aul membership. Meyendorff[8] notes that the office tended to become hereditary but he who was not able to retain it by merit soon lost it. After the Russian occupation local officials were elected subject to government supervision and approval, which may be the source of Czaplicka's statement[9] that the Kazak "clan head" is elected.

[623] It should be noted, however, that Pallas[10] refers to a "democratic council" which chose one of its members as war leader when planning a military excursion; Levshin[11] mentions assemblies of "relatives, friends and neighbors" called to discuss local questions, which might break up in a wrangle. It is difficult to estimate the nature and scope of these councils and assemblies but I shall revert to the question presently.

Within the uru-aul group relations between the bij and aqsaqal on the one hand and the people on the other were apparently more personal than strictly political or governmental. In discussing the nature of economic social groupings we have observed the patron-client relationship between the wealthy herd owners and their poorer kinsmen and dependents. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between economic and political ties and obligations. The bij and aqsaqal were usually themselves the largest herd-owners of the aul, or representatives of them as a class. The basic economic and political groups coincided.

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[7] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 313–14.
[8] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 47.
[9] *Turks of Central Asia*, 49.
[10] *Voyages*, 1: 622–23.
[11] *Description des hordes*, 397.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 78-79 -- Analyst]

for maintenance. After receiving the bride price or inchi they continued to serve their masters, from whom they received various gains. The former Tulenkut are still servants now, but for pay. The name, in addition, is going out of use.

Among the Kirgiz the manap are the best people, descending from a whole line of biis. Yet they do not receive any more honor than all the good people, in general. Manap is not entirely a title of descent. If the son of a manap is worse than the father, wicked or impoverished, then he ceases to be a manap. On the other hand, an upstart from the simple people, even though he be a good person, cannot be a manap. Biis can and could be in the past not only manaps but also non-manaps, without distinction. (1)

1. Communication of bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov.

The honorable Kirgiz Mulla Asan, a manap himself, communicated the following concerning the manaps:

"Manap is a title similar to the Russian Prince. Not a single manap is descended from the house of Chingiz Khan. Those who stood out from the people (yurtan ozyb), who were outstanding for their bravery and generosity and who commanded the people at times without leadership became manaps. At times of enemy invasions they assembled all the people and those who commanded them (el bashlagan) were those who themselves stood out among the other manaps (uzi ozyb chykkan). They were not elected, but if they began to have elections, they would elect them.

"There are no genealogical registers of the manaps.

"In the Auliye-Ata uyezd now the following persons with their kin are considered to be manaps: I (Mullah Asan Dzhangel-Din), /7/ Kydyrali Nurakov, Shadybek Sarymsakov, Nazar Khangel'diev, Kanai Bekmuradov, Seid Kachkin, Egemberdi Usekov and Irsali Nurav. None of these are related to each other."

There are no Tiuri or Telenkut among the Kirgiz.

The slaves (1) freed by the Russians, have been completely lost.

1. The slaves were called kiimdy tugan bala (son, born clothed).

Apparently most of them returned to their native lands. Part of them began to marry Kazakhs, and some became mixed with them by adoption.

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[148 cont.]

175 643 were contemporaries of the Kungtaidji Bagatyre. A second proof can be added to this first one, namely, that in our table, as well as in the history, the son of Ishim is named Djangir.

In this way we find that Djadek, father of Shigai and grandfather of Ishim, lived with his brother Usiak toward the middle of the 16th century, that is, at the same time as the khan of Siberia, Kuchum, and his father, Murtaza. However, we do not know whether they were related nor whether they came from the same branch.

[14] Our knowledge does not go beyond Djadek and Usiak. In the middle of the last [18th] century, Tevkelev could not know the name of their father, because of the lapse of time since he had lived, and consequently it is still less possible to know it today.

175 643 554 From the questions we posed on this subject to Kazaks in the years 1820, 1821, and 1822, we learned only that their khans and sultans consider themselves the descendants of Chingis Khan. Most of the princes of upper Asia accord themselves this honor, and it is rarely without grounds. It is possible that many of the Kazak chiefs have a right to it, like many other Chingisids who received no other heritage from their strong and terrible ancestor but his name.

Abulgazi Baiadur proves that Kuchum, khan of Siberia, was descended from Sheibani, the grandson of Chingis, but Kuchum is known to have been a Kazak sultan, and therefore it is not surprising that other Kazak khans and sultans are also descended from Sheibani. Following [149] this first manuscript chart, if we go down from Ishim and Djangir, whose existence is known to us, to times closer to our own, we see that after Djangir comes his son, Khan Tiavka.

175 643 728 669 On hearing the name of this prince, the heart of every Kazak capable, through intelligence, of rising above his turbulent compatriots is filled with gratitude and veneration. He is the Lycurgus and Draco of the Kazak hordes. Once more he brought peace among them after the bloody dissensions. He stopped the

[168 cont.]

[548] several gentlemen from Ufa, several faithful Bashkirs, and some Russian Cossacks. Also two geodetic officers were charged with making a map of the country occupied by the Kazaks.

[169] Tevkelev's arrival at the horde revealed all of Abulkhair's ambitious scheming. The officers charged with re-[578] ceiving the oath from the new subjects not only were not received in conformity with their rank, but were in danger of death scarcely after they had arrived. The Kazaks were incensed at the very thought of losing their rude freedom and revolted spontaneously when they saw the Russians among them, wishing to sacrifice Tevkelev instantly to their anger. The Khan saved him but could not quiet the uprising. His more daring subjects even attacked him and asked him by what right he had opened relations with foreign powers without the consent of the people, promising his obedience as well as that of the hordes. One would naturally expect a violent opposition of this kind upon learning that Abulkhair had had difficulty in obtaining the consent of a small number of Kazaks to send his deputies into Russia. This bold trick could even have cost him his life, and if at that time he did not fall under the blows of his angered compatriots, he owed his salvation more to luck than to his power, for we shall soon see how limited it was.

Tevkelev himself, whose life was threatened by the Kazaks several times, owed his survival less to the protection of the Khan than to his profession of the Moslem faith, and above all to his eloquence, by means of which he disarmed those who had come to take his life several times. The story of these events is preserved in the archives.

● [554] In his report of them in his History of Orenburg, Rychkov says that the power and captivation of Tevkelev's speech caused him to be regarded by the Kazaks as an extraordinary man. We will add that he owed his success partly to Batyr Taimas, a Bashkir elder who was then with him and who had made himself known among the Kazak hordes through his exploits and his valor.

Tevkelev's pains and troubles were not useless. No matter how strong the resistance of the people with whom he had [170] to deal was, too much effort finally tired them, and

[548] [189 cont.]
[559] our border by Kazaks of the Little Horde. Such were the first
579] proofs of the [190] protection of our trade in Asia promised by Khan Abulkhair.

[543] A second proof of the impotence of the princes, or rather the Kazak chiefs, was seen in 1740 when Karasakal, chief of the Bashkir rebels, fled beyond the Yaik with his accomplices. The Khan and the sultans absolutely refused to arrest these deserters.

All these circumstances, and particularly the pillage of the caravans, caused Abulkhair to be embarrassed about appearing in Orenburg in 1740 for a meeting with Prince Urusov, and he sent excuses that he was ill and too far away.

To these two reasons, which he gave openly, a third must be added, which was secret. He knew that at this time Abul Mahmet, new khan of the Middle Horde, was expected in Orenburg.
[554] This man was his enemy and one over whom he had pre-eminence, and he was afraid of seeing the other treated as his equal. But in order to avoid reproaches and dispel suspicions, he sent the Sultans Nurali and Erali, his sons, to Prince Urusov.

On this occasion they were received with all the honors which had been shown their father two years before. The Kazaks
[574 576] who accompanied them were also treated with special regard. Seventy-five elders dined at the table of the chief [Prince Urusov?], and food and beer were distributed to the persons of their suite outdoors.

Although Sultan Nurali was at that time a grown-up man, yet his father had given him as a preceptor during his trip to Russia a man, Batyr Djanibek, who was universally esteemed among the Kazaks and known for his wit. He was received in Orenburg practically as an equal of the sultans, and with them received rich gifts at the first meeting in the name of the Russian government.

[574] The first visit of the Khan's sons to Prince Urusov was only a ceremonial visit and an exchange of pleasantries. At the second meeting the affairs of the horde were discussed. [191] They ex-
[628] plained that the first caravan sent by Tatishchev was pillaged by the Great Horde, over which they had not the slightest influence.

[287 cont.]

[648] This khan could not distinguish himself in such a short time and under such harassing circumstances. Yet his mind and his inclinations to support the Russian government in its views could have made him truly of service to his people.

[643] When the news of his death was received in St. Petersburg, the Empress commanded that inquiries be made among the Kazaks concerning whom they wished to have as khan and especially to find out their attitudes toward Sultan Ishim, eldest son of Nurali.

[554] The latter had long been known for his attachment to Russia and was deserving, both for his personal qualities and the respect of the people, of inheriting the rank which had belonged to his father, his grandfather, and his most distant ancestors.

[631] Events served to lend greater force to his rights. The Little Horde was divided into two factions, the first under the name of Sultan Abulgazi, being obedient to Syrym, his ally and his rival, and the second ruled by Ishim. Russia could not count upon the first, for she had already had to suffer much mischief from it, and could still expect only hostile acts on its part. The second group included the sultans and elders who were most attached to Russia, and thus she could not act otherwise than to prefer it and to give privileges to its leader.

[643] [288] It must be noted, however, that even this group of the horde did not wish to choose Ishim as khan except under certain conditions. They asked that he become an independent sovereign (autocrat), that he not recognize the suzerainty of Russia, and that to this end he should withdraw into the interior of the steppes toward the Syr Darya. Ishim, who was accustomed to basing all his hopes on the protection of the Russian rulers, informed the Orenburg authorities of the demands of his people himself, adding that Syrym's followers were not only preventing him [664 681] from trying to find the bandits and pursue them, but were also exacting from him a kun /blood price/, or payment of 2,000 sheep, for having sent to Orenburg shortly before two Kazaks who were famous for their banditry. Ishim's frankness and his promise not [643] to go away from the Russian border led the government to use all its efforts to cause him to be elected khan. In mid-September of

[290 cont.]
for some time to observe their conduct. His supervision soon became useless, because the nomads did not wish to have a council, did not turn to it in their affairs, and asked for a khan.

In order to comply with their wishes, that same year it was ordered to proceed with the election of a successor to Ishim. Most of the horde wanted to elect Sultan Karatai, son of Nurali, but his devotion to Russia was doubtful. Sultan Aichuvak, son of Abulkhair and uncle of Karatai, who had presided over the council, inspired much more confidence in the government and had much more right to this honor. In October, 1797 the Kazaks assembled near the [291] border proclaimed him, and the following year Emperor Paul confirmed him, as the chief of the entire Little Horde. The council which had been formed to govern the Little Horde after Ishim's death was ordered to remain constantly by Khan Aichuvak and was called the council of the khan.

It can be seen by the Orenburg archives that Aichuvak had often distinguished himself, not only by his attachment to Russia but also by his influence over the Kazaks while they were ruled by Nurali. Thus his elevation to the rank of khan seemed to promise various advantages. However, what followed did not justify this hope. Being burdened with age, the Khan could not act as he had earlier and was nothing more than a very weak leader. The internal disputes, the Buruts, the pillaging of caravans, the raids on the Russian frontier, especially against the Bashkirs, the acts of vengeance which were taken after these, the investigations and the punishments caused a terrible confusion in the Little Horde. The commissions formed of deputies from the different peoples, which we described above, could not act, and it was decided to dissolve them. The Khan did not have enough power to punish the guilty or to protect the oppressed. The disorder and anarchy which had more or less always prevailed among the Kazaks increased from one day to the next, and finally the dissensions spread everywhere.

These circumstances produced very important consequences. Many of the Kazaks who were nomadizing near the Ural River withdrew to the far end of the steppes and refused to obey the descendants of Abulkhair. Some of them fused with several

[304 cont.]

565 and the Black bone. The White bone is made up only of khans and
611 their descendants, who have the title of sultans. /305] Zealous
643 Moslems also put in this class the khojas, or descendants of saints
[792] in the Moslem chronicle of saints (1). The name of Black bone

[114]

1. Timkovskii, in his Journey to Peking, gives approximately the same meaning to the word khoja. Klaproth, in his notes to the French translation of this work, opposes Timkovskii's opinion. As for me, I repeat what I have heard many times from Kazak lips.

is used not only for the common people but also for the elders and other chiefs who do not have a hereditary position.

According to this distinction, one says "here is a sultan of the pure white bone," because he is descended from a khan in both the male and female line, and "this man is of mixed white bone," because his mother is of common descent.

●[554] Thus one finds among the Kazaks the hereditary distinctions to which so much value is attached in Europe. Savages know how to take pride in services rendered by others, as we do, and to claim privileges as a recompense for the merit of their ancestors.

565 567 We do not place the Telenguts, or servants of the khans (2),

[728]

2. The Telenguts are of Mongol origin but were subjugated by the Kazaks and have adopted the language of their masters. See on this subject, Klaproth's note in his Magasin Asiatique, vol. I, p. 19.

in a special class, nor the kuls, or slaves. The former are accepted among the people and enjoy the same rights, while the latter are considered as chattel or merchandise and are not Kazaks. These are the Russian, Persian, Kalmuk, and other prisoners.

/207 cont./

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [197] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 554 352 353 [574] Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. [583] However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [164] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbidden by law. [648] Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet press. [554] It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time 197 the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 648 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

THE PERIOD 1926-1939

K 177 648 361 474

At the end of the 1920's the Soviets decided to collectivize the nomads of Central Asia, by which they meant causing them to settle down in collective farms. The first Five-Year Plan envisaged settling 383,000 of these nomadic households by 1933. By 1930, 50,000 nomadic Kazakh households were so immobilized, but 567,000 out of 829,000 households, or 67 per cent, were still nomadic. During the following year, 95,000 more households were transferred from nomadism to farming and other sedentary occupations. In 1932 an intensive drive was started to collectivize the nomadic herdsmen as well, but without compulsory sedentarization; collectivization no longer meant settling down.

K [181] [554]

Apparently, many of those nomads who had been sedentarized in the first Five-Year Plan did not remain on the farms. Kazakhs traditionally abhorred farming. They regarded it as woman's work, as work of the poor and of those who could not make a success of herding. For a man to become a farmer meant loss of status, loss of manhood and virility. The Sarts, for example, a farming and trading people of Central Asia composed of former herdsmen, were despised by the nomads. Only half of those households which had been announced as collectivized remained so. In 1934, it was announced that only 76,000 households of the 145,000 noted above had been permanently settled in 1932. Between 1933 and 1935 slightly under 200,000 households were added to this roll, making a total of about one quarter of a million households which had been sedentarized. In addition, there was some movement of nomad households across the border into other republics or into China. In 1935 there were 158,000 fully nomadic Kazakh households, as compared with 567,000 five years earlier.

K [186]

K [167]

The total number of those employed in Kazakhstan in 1931 was 495,100, of whom 125,100 were in agriculture. By 1935 the total figure had risen to 585,700, and the agricultural component to 165,800. The total figure rose to about 700,000 in 1937 and to 820,000 in 1940.

KN [162]

There were 16,184 persons employed in industry in Kazakhstan in 1927, of whom 20.8 per cent were Kazakhs. In 1933, the number of industrial workers had risen to 56,484; of these, 23,784, or 42.1 per cent, were Kazakhs. At the end of 1934, the total was 71,627, of whom 29,022 or 40.5 per cent were Kazakhs.

K 161

The total population of Kazakhs was reported in 1926 as 3,968,289; in 1939 their number was given as 3,098,764. They had thus lost in absolute terms about 900,000 people between the two censuses, or approximately 22 per cent of their number in 1926. In the same period, the population of the entire USSR had increased by 15.9 per cent. It has been argued that under normal conditions the Kazakh rate of increase would have been higher than the average for the USSR as a whole. (The populations of the neighboring republics of Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan, for instance, which are composed of ethnic groups similar to the Kazakhs, have increased at a rate much higher than that of the entire USSR.) At any rate, if the Kazakhs had increased only at the USSR average rate, they would have numbered about 4,500,000 in 1939. Thus their real loss

live as an independent unit, even though they had their own tent; the group was still part of the husband's father's household.[1]

Extensive studies done in the early 1920's by Rudenko describe the family life among Kazakhs of the Middle Horde. In one aul or nomadic village, there were 13 tents in a line. Five of the 13 "belonged" to the head of the aul, and of these three contained women; that is, three were tents of married persons, for women received tents only on marriage. Rich auls were small, with few families; poor auls were large, with many families joining in their poverty. One such poor aul contained 60 families; Samoilovich describes a richer grouping of 505 tents in 100 auls of three to eight tents each.[2]

Very little information is available on the size of households or the extended family. Samoilovich gave 2,408 as the number of individuals living in the 505 tents, or 4.76 per tent.[3] Equating tents with married couples, but also allowing for bachelors and childless couples in some tents, one can infer a high fertility in this particular community. This account is one of the very few detailed demographic pictures of a small community of Kazakhs living in the traditional fashion. It is difficult to generalize from such a description, but one gets a sense of the direction such figures are likely to take.

In Turkic nomad communities there are generally fewer women than men; a ratio of 900 females to 1,000 males exists among Kazakhs. The Kirgiz and the Yakut of Northern Siberia present a similar picture. Among these people, however, men tend to marry late in life, while social norms dictate that women marry early. This is shown by the fact that, in 1926, 41 out of every 1,000 Kazakh males reached the age of 40 unmarried, while only three out of every 1,000 women were still single at 40. More than 75 per cent of the women married by the age of 20; Kazakh men reached that percentage only in the age group 30-34. Hence there is actually a surplus of women seeking marriage, and this allows for a certain amount of polygamy, since a woman will marry a man who already has a wife rather than remain unmarried.

As noted before, the extended family is patriarchal in character; authority is vested in the senior male of the household. All decisions rest with him, and rarely can appeal be made beyond his word. The entire society centers around the father-son axis, the central point of the marriage life and family happiness is the bearing of a son. The son is the assurance that the line will be continued; on a larger scale, this pattern of descent in the paternal line is the web that holds the society together. This is an extreme case of a father-son oriented society. Few of the factors which tend to modify strict patriarchal control in other societies can be seen here. The Chinese and the Japanese have a patrilineal family system, but in these societies, although the father is the center of authority, the mother is the center of a different circle of emotion, one of love and warmth, and the family life involves both circles.

[1] USSR Census 1926, vol. 54.
[2] Rudenko *et al*, 1930, p. 311.
[3] Samoilovich, in Rudenko *et al*, 1930.

593 she is physically a part of her paternal family but socially, spiritually,
562 she is already on her way to join her husband. Among the Turks of
584 the eighth century, a man could sell his daughter, provided she was
neither betrothed nor married, if he could not otherwise pay the sum levied against him for a crime. These ancient Turks could not sell their wives, but could make seizure in such a case—but only such an extreme case—on the dowry which the wife had brought with her.

562 Yet a woman is not without rights among the Kazakhs. There is a considerable progression in her social status and personal rights when she advances from an unmarried to a married state, a progression which was true for the ancient Turks as well as for the Kazakhs, their descendants.[1] The modern unmarried Kazakh girl has no property, but on betrothal and marriage she obtains certain property rights. The 583 married woman receives her dowry which she, not her husband, controls. She may reserve it from her husband's estate and make provision for 595 its distribution among her own children, to prevent children of her husband by another wife from falling heir to her property.[2]

The ethnographer Karutz comments that although a woman's family 583 receives a certain amount of bridewealth from her husband's family on their marriage, this bridewealth is hardly commensurate with the cost and care of her upbringing.[3] (For poor Kazakhs bride-service, in which the youth works for the wife's father for a term, may take the place of payment of the bridewealth, but this is not the usual pattern.) One gains the impression that a girl prior to marriage is barely tolerated in her 573 parental home. She is there on sufferance until the day she marries and moves to her husband's home. A woman is a temporary resident in her father's home, a permanent resident in her husband's home. And the long-established member of the Kazakh community, especially if she is a woman, has a position which the newcomer does not. The mother-in-606 law has superiority over the son's wife.

A woman advances in status when she marries; she advances still 554 further when she bears a son. The marriage arrangement between two Kazakh families is in the nature of a contract, the purpose of which is 584 the passage of a woman from one line to bear sons for another.[4] The 562 terms of the marriage "contract" involve a complex series of exchanges; bridewealth is paid by the boy's family to that of the girl, or bride-service is performed by the groom for the bride's father, a dowry is stipulated, and feasts and sumptuous gifts are exchanged between the families in as many as seven ceremonies. The riches of the exchanges 554 vary according to the wealth and status of the families. Among rich families, each tries to outdo the other in outlay; among the families of moderate wealth, traditionally fixed sums are exchanged; among the poor, the marriage takes place merely through the exchange of a sheep or a kid.[5]

[1] Bichurin, 1950.
[2] Izraztsov, 1897, pp. 67-70.
[3] Karutz (72), 1911, p. 100.
[4] Krader (78), doctoral dissertation, 1953, ch. 6.
[5] Karutz (73), 1910, p. 38.

171 one should remember that the paternal authority of the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Romans is a model for the imperial authority only by analogy, as a manner of speaking. The Confucian admonition to regard the emperor as a father is not taken literally. The Chinese imperial authority pattern is derived from other sources than the paternal role; [602] so is the Kazakh. But Kazakh society as a whole is more steeped in the kinship relation, and hence authority in general is modeled on the paternal to a greater degree than in the other patrilineal societies mentioned.

642 538 Age is the underlying basis of authority in the Kazakh social system, since the old men are the fathers. Paradoxically, traditional Kazakh literature, both oral and written, deals mostly with young heroes. These youths are praised for their daring, strength, cleverness; they defy enemies both human and supernatural. But the hero is typically a [908] younger prince who gains a kingdom in defiance of the law of primogeniture by subduing or outwitting his older brother; the young prince never defies the older generation. The father and elders generally support the elder brother, but they do not actively suppress the younger. In contrast, Kazakh literature of the Soviet era depicts youth defying or combatting his elders.

KAZAKH SOCIETY AND THE PARTY LINE

171 565 Throughout the history of western society, the social classes have been distinguished by differences in birth; the nobility carefully separated themselves from the taint of common blood in medieval Europe, in Renaissance societies, and in modern times. The Kazakh society—and the Mongol or Uzbek for that matter—is anomalous because it maintains class distinctions of aristocrat and commoner while affirming [619] a general relatedness through descent from a single ancestor. There are even fictional genealogies which unite all steppe nomads.[1]

554 These relatively simple anomalies have caused a dilemma in Soviet publications on the nature of Kazakh society. There is social differentiation not only by birth and descent, but also by wealth. In Kazakh society, [177] the two bases of social inequality were more or less coordinate until the victory of Sovietization. The clan leader was superior to his fellow [600] clansmen by right of birth; the village leader was superior to his fellow villagers by right of birth; both were also richer than the other clansmen or villagers. By right of precedence they allocated the best pasture lands to themselves and decided all judicial questions in their own favor. Both wealth and social influence were based on the number of kinsmen [602] who would support a man at a council, or before the law, or in a fight, a feud, or a war. A man of eminent birth and of wealth could get more kinsmen to support him than could a Kazakh with neither. This might seem anomalous, since theoretically a Kazakh is related to all other Kazakhs, and kinsmen help each other. But kinsmen help closer kinsmen before they help distant kin; and kinsmen help superior, influential kinsmen before they help inferior kinsmen who are lacking in influence.

[1] Aristov, 1896, pp. 396-398.

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China
Sinkiang AI1
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/The Kazakhs/

S 563 K 685 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The Kazakh will steal only from someone who has been unfriendly toward him, and generally he will steal only animals, which cannot be well hidden. The idea behind the act is to show courage, and if the theft goes unnoticed, the thief feels proud of his cleverness. Once the theft is discovered, however, the thief willingly admits he has been outwitted, and submits to punishment. It is customary for the apprehended thief to repay nine times the property stolen; that is, if he has stolen one sheep, he must give its owner nine sheep.

S 563 K 594 The Kazakhs are noted for their hospitality. In theory, they must keep what amounts to open house for travelers, including enemies and strangers, and a guest may stay indefinitely without paying for food or lodging. It would be very bad form for a host to ask a guest to leave. Furthermore, the welfare of the guest is the responsibility of the tent owner. A traveler may claim damages if he has suffered from hunger or exhaustion in the vicinity of any camp ground.

Obviously such laws of hospitality impose a heavy burden upon the host, and for that reason the Kazakhs try to avoid camping near routes of travel. Some even conceal their tents behind the hills. K [556] In practice, the traditional hospitality is kept only by the wealthy, and then, "A visitor is treated well or ill [554] according to the importance of his 'tribe' and the number of his ancestors." (Hudson 1938: 73.) That is, for a guest of importance the host would kill a sheep, whereas a poor visitor would be served only tea or milk.

S 563 K 608 Sworn brotherhood is a practice prevalent among the Kazakhs, a relationship which may be formed between two persons of different blood groups. A very solemn ceremony takes place when two persons take the oath of brotherhood. They may swear on the Koran, or "embrace one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each other, taking oath that they would be friends to one another for a specific time or for life." (ibid.) Such brothers share each other's happiness or sorrow, and personal and family property. The offspring of the sworn brothers may continue this relationship. Women, too, may fraternize in this way, and it is said that the relationship may even be formed between two persons of the opposite sex.

S 563 K 576 264 574 [191] The Kazakhs practice the same etiquette as the New Uighurs, with a few noteworthy variations. At feasts, the animals to be eaten are always killed in the presence of the guests, to honor the guests and indicate that they are being offered the best. Another strict custom, observed by both men and women, is to wear a hat or cap at meals. If a guest has forgotten his hat, he is given a stick of straw to adorn his head. To eat bareheaded is an insult to the others present.

[Great Horde]

613 an elder, called bii, who was respected for the seniority of his line of descent within the group, the authoritativeness of his judgment, and his age. Conflicts within a lineage would be smoothed over by agreements among the individual biis, each one representing the rights of his sub-lineage. The authority of the biis depended on their relations both to their followers and to one another; some through their individual personalities could resolve the profoundest oppositions.[84]

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554 The bii's scope of authority was thus variable; moreover, his "jurisdiction" was also variable: for the same term was applied to the elder or most respected man in a sub-lineage, in a village, or any small-scale formation generally. Several smaller sub-lineages might combine to form a new lineage under the leadership of an influential bii, taking on the name of that man who led and represented the new formation. But the bii's power was rarely if ever recognized unconditionally, and according to the European notion, his office was to some extent a usurpation since there was no chiefly office.[85] However, this is somewhat far-fetched, since he performed important social functions in the resolution of conflicts and the adjudication of disputes; his social status, however, was founded on consanguineal, and not politico-administrative relations, hence Radlov's idea that his office was a usurpation.

[84] Radloff, Aus Sibirien, I, 514.

[85] Idem.

765 main banquets are given at the funeral feasts (ash) which are 40 days after the death and one year after it. At these funeral feasts they put on horse races and a feast, and as a result they are very expensive for the relatives.

527 [796] Holidays. The Kazakhs do not keep the Moslem holidays particularly, though they do observe certain fasts(uraza) and celebrate certain days, for example, Kurban-Bairam and others. Their chief celebrations, however, are of a family or folk character, that is, weddings, funeral feasts, or celebrations held on some kind of joyous occasion in the family of a rich and well-known man. Celebrations in such cases often take on a general character and acquaintances and strangers come together there. The celebration begins with a general feast and only then proceeds to the
526 games. The chief amusements are the horse races (baiga) with prizes which are often quite considerable. After this, contests between strong men are very popular, but they never involove fighting with the fists. Finally there is foot racing but the prizes for this
524 are quite insignificant. Games among the young people of both sexes are quite common. The most amusing is the one in which a girl is mounted on a horse and armed with a whip, and is followed by young men. Whoever overtakes her and catches her has the right to kiss her and is allowed other minor liberties, but the amazon is an expert with the /345/ whip and strikes down unwelcome suitors at full length with blows, to the great delight of the onlookers.

527 554 According to Kazakh custom an honored figure is chosen at the celebration to distribute prizes and direct the entertainment, a bey

527 or a sultan. Here the right to preeminance is
554 decided either by the seniority of the clan, or by the importance of the family if it is a sultan. The person who is given this position of seniority is treated with the greatest respect. This is expressed, among other ways, in the fact that during the feast the cup of meat which is brought to him contains the head of the slaughtered animal.

During these banquets the persons of honor, as a sign of special graciousness, feed a younger brother with their own hands with pieces of meat and fat, placing the food unceremoniously in the mouth of the lucky fellow considered worthy of such an honor, while he usually crawls up to them on his knees. During this time beggars and servants usually wait for the end of the banquet, standing or sitting behind the feasters, and from time to time the honored guests throw them pieces of meat and bones. Afterwards the remains of the banquet belong to this hungry brotherhood and to the women.

855 The rearing of children among the Kazakhs is crude and perfunctory. Neither father nor mother bothers about them particularly. Usually the children up to the age of 12 or 13 run about in the summer naked or practically naked, in some kind of a rag. In the winter because of of the cold they often hide among the sheep, which are allowed into the tent, and there only their half-shaven, half-shorn heads pop up among the rams and gaze with wild, sharp eyes at the
578 newly arrived visitor. Like all primitive creatures, the Kazakhs do not hesitate to use expressions rising to the highest degree of cynicism when they quarrel. But the head of the family only rarely beats the other members.